/257 cont./
539 in quiet areas, where there are no human beings, it is always
125 on the move in the morning and afternoon, except during the hot hours in the middle of the day which it spends sleeping": in other words, all of the phrases between quotation marks, taken from the book by Dr. Goeldi on the mammals of our land (pp. 92, 99, 103, and 106), confirm what has been said concerning the shadowy character of the Yamîkas.

539 /258/ Other considerations, however, seem to us of
174 greater moment.

First of all, in the enumeration of the belongings of the Yamîkas, we have a basis for a list of the cultural acquisitions of the Bacaeris. We learn that they had nets for fishing before [229] they had nets /hammocks/ for sleeping, that they traveled by [352] water when they did not yet have pestles, and that they proba- [501] bly had maracá before they had the masks with which they [412] appear at their festivals. [532]

We also see that although theoretically the abode of the
539 Yamîka is in the sky, a large part of his existence is spent on
• 776 the earth from which he derives his sustainance. Subsistence, however, is not his sole concern; free of the contingencies of time and space, he travels swiftly as the wind, he is an envious being who spies upon all actions and weighs upon the living with crushing pressure. There is hardly an act that he does not influence: gestation, childbirth, alimentation, festivals, walking hours, everything falls within his inexorable reach, as we shall see later. It would seem that the Bacaeris could paint their bodies as they please. But this is not so.

776 Yamîka does not like urucú.--this is why one must not
789 scatter the urucú seed, says the piahi;--Yamîka goes into the
124 houses of people with children,--this is why we burn the juice
302 of the rubber tree--when it is burned it is rubbed on the door;--fathers of boys, when they go to the river, paint themselves with genipap,--paint themselves with urucú,--so Yamîka thinks that it is blood; if the boy's father does not paint himself

/258 cont./

776 and goes to the river. Yamũra throws himself in the water;--
789 he likes guanandi /Calophyllum brasiliense/ resin;--burned
824 cotton seed makes Yamũra run far /259/ away; Yamũra is very
302 fond of colored clay and loam;--he does not like copaiba resin;--when jatobá is burned Yamũra does not like it, says the piahi.

796 Finally, since there are certain animals which for him are
825 a means of subsistence, his ferramenta /iron tools/, if it is permissible to say this in connection with peoples who have not reached the metal stage, it is natural that Yamũra should protect them with the same care and vigor with which a Bacaeri
784 would protect his canoe or his bow. There are animals whose injury is punished immediately: for example, the Sucuri, in one of the passages cited above, or the Topiéhi, a little bird that will be dealt with more conveniently later on. These are truly tabú or tapú, an expression used in Australia, and which, being widely known, demands no explanation. It is possible to come to terms with regard to the others, and this is done in a most reasonable way, by giving to the Yamũra in prepared form the food that he would have to prepare in the campo.
782 It is mandatory, however, that the dead animal be put to good
796 use; otherwise antas, pecas, and pigs will attack clearings,
532 destroying them; and to propitiate the Yamũra it is necessary to give a feast, naturally masked, which they attend incognito. After eating well, they regard themselves as satisfied and the scourge ceases.

825 The following passage expresses more clearly the idea of
796 payment, and, although it is somewhat repetitious, it is not
782 redundant.
796

If the Guariba /howler monkey/ (Mycetes) is killed, it must be paid for, says the piahi; if the macaco Coatá /spider monkey/ (Ateles) is killed, if the Preguiça /three-toed sloth/

/259 cont./

825 (Bradypus) is killed, pay for them with mingáu;--if no payment
796 is made, Yamũra will seize our shadow; Imiga (Cebus?) /260/
782 is the domestic animal that is the creation (eri) of Yamũra;
796 if you cut down forest in which Yamũra dwells, pay for it;--
seek out a place to hold a festival; makanari is payment for
the forest (13);--then, when Yamũra had drunk mingáu, he

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13. After he had dictated this passage, I. expressed doubts as to whether the dance was the makanari or some other one.

goes far away (14).

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14. Matias Ruiz Blanco notes a variant of the same idea among the Indians of Peritú (Colombia): "When the Indian brings in a deer or wild boar, the woman comes out with a tutuma of the drink that they make out of maize, and she opens the animal's mouth and gives it some to drink out of courtesy so that its soul will tell the others about the good treatment given to it" (Conversión de Piritú, 64, Madrid reprint.).

796 Makanari is the name of one of their festivals, and this would be the proper place to discuss them, if unfortunately, the scanty information that exists concerning this were not deficient, concealing all the ritual and devotional aspect which is its essence. We shall return to it on another occasion.

/260 cont./

796 for now merely stressing the following on this point: the masked dances and festivals are true religious ceremonies.

● 796 Let us now consider the piahi, whose important role has
756 already been indicated.

One word suffices to describe him: the piahi is a Yamũra.

Piahi is a word that, with slight variations, appears in several South American languages and, like Caraïbe can be interpreted in various ways. In Bacaeri it is related perhaps to epiwado, "payment," an idea whose scope we have already had occasion to mention. Basically /261/ it means the curer, the doctor. Thus it must not be confused with "sorcerer": ome-odo, "the lord of poison," may take a person's health and life; amapõçodo, "the lord of the hand of the dead," can vanquish the "lord of poison"; but both are mortal, while the curer is immortal and controls the forces of nature.

756 A few examples taken at random will show how the piahi appears to the mind of the Bacaeri.

796 The son of a curer was walking with his father, when
956 suddenly he was attacked by a jaguar. He defended himself
793 as best he could, and, arriving home, he said: I have beaten a jaguar.--You are lying, said the curer, you have beaten me. This proves that the curer can get into the bodies of animals, or, to use the native expression, "make an animal his shirt."

Parutamido killed a tatou at the edge of a lake, cut it open, washed it, and refused to hand it over to the Yamũra who demanded it in the water, as an animal of his creation (iñi). To punish him, the Yamũra drowned him. When some time had passed without news of him, a curer who was his brother-in-law dreamed of what had happened to him. He went into the lake, where the Yamũra explained why he had drowned Parutamido, treated him very well, presented him with minãu, with beijũs, and taught him the dance of the Kʷaritówo. This shows what different relations the yamũras

/261 cont./
have with the piahi and with the common people (wanololo, from waono, "first"; cf. Ger. "der erste der beste" /first come first served/.

At the waterfalls of the Paranatinga, a fearsome place where Keri and Came tossed the Mama, an enchanted red stone /282/ with which they killed Moro and Arimoto, there is underneath the Mama the dream (Vbdo) which they took from the lizard's eyes. There dwells the father of smallpox (nui); those who come near him fall ill; when the time for the leaping of the matrimaan /a kind of fish/ comes, anyone nearby who talks or laughs is thrown into the water. The curer runs no risk by coming near; if he becomes angry, he can bless the sleep and this one gets up and wanders off.

How does the curer reach this fullness of powers which in his discourses he so often hurls at those whom he contemptuously calls "common people"? Through a very long and painful apprenticeship, which few persons have the courage to undergo to the end and to the letter.

First of all, the curer candidate (piahi-he-ini) must find an experienced curer who will tell him what he must do and protect him against the enemies whom he is bound to encounter. On his part, in addition, the future curer must not leave a single breach through which the enemy, the Kaowi, might enter, the so curious and so evil yamiras, whose principal occupation, it would seem, is to go in search of the slightest carelessness in order to punish it inexorably.

Such is the object of the rigorous training to which he must submit if he wishes to rise to the heights where the true curer dwells.

The novice begins by drinking various drugs, such as timbo, pindova, vaimbé, and other cipos, in order to learn the language of animals and of Kaowi, a sort of Curupira; he cannot eat piribo, mingão, fat, meat, lambari /a kind of fish/, flying things, /283/ tamanduas, or honey; his food consists exclusively of beijú and polvilho broth.

/263 cont./

756 346 He does not live in the village, but in a house apart, the dance house (k'wadóeti), where festivals are held and guests accommodated, and where women may not enter; he cannot speak to the latter, and for greater safety, not only does the master curer frighten the novice by telling him that the voices he hears are not those of women but of Kaówi, but he slings his hammock across the door so that his disciple cannot go out in an unguarded moment.

825 After a time the master and disciple go wandering about, and the latter, who has easily learned the language of Kaówi, begins to speak the language of the jaguar. This is a sign that the initiation is nearly over; the curer gives him the cipó de cobra /caapeba/ (arakur-iokyre), the piahi candidate dies, becomes yamîra, and goes to the sky to present himself to Nahoeri.

796 825 Nahoeri, whom we already know, owns many domestic animals: aracas, pombas /Columbiformes/, rolas /small Columbiformes/, jacus, jacucaca, mutum, maracaña, parakeets, parrots, toucans, araçari, anums, chickens, tamanduas, etc. What these animals have in common, only a naturalist familiar with the Indians' way of thinking could state with any certainty. Some seem to have been chosen on account of the brilliance of the plumage, others for their early-rising habits, and others, finally, because of the fact that they disappear for a time, reappearing fatter, as though they had dwelt in greener pastures.

756 796 The differences between the curer and the common yamîra begin after death: the latter, as has been seen, climbs /264/ a cotton ladder; the disciple and master climb together, but how this is done is not stated.

When the piahi-he-ini goes to see the sky, the sky dwellers see him coming from afar; Who goes there? the yamîras say to Nahoeri; then Nahoeri appears at the door;

/264 cont./

956 the puahi and his disciple draw near. Ah! It is you, you have
• 996 come? says Nakoeri;--Yes, it is I. I have come to see you,
replies the disciple;--Yes, you did not like your drink, your
beiju, your food, it is good, this is why you came, common
people do not come to my village, says Nakoeri.

Then Nakoeri puts benches outside and talks outside to the disciple of the curer; first, he puts down a red bench; then he puts down two white benches; the disciple does not sit on the red bench; he brings out three red benches (five in all, with the red ones closer to the candidate, to tempt him); the candidate walks by the three red benches without sitting down (if he sat down, he would commit a crime and would not rise to puahi) and sits on the white bench. You are an upright man (uiuzodo-lo), yes, you are brave, Nakoeri tells him.

Then Nakoeri fetches mandioca dough; he ties the tail of a red arara with cotton to the tip of the handle of the maracá, and he intones his song and plays the maracá; then the candidate's bench moves, and on the bench he goes inside the house; as he goes in, Nakoeri interrupts his song: You are going inside the sky, says Nakoeri.--Yes, Captain, I am, says the candidate,--Take him inside the sky, says Nakoeri to his companion, and he intones his song anew.

The bench goes to the sky, swirling; Nakoeri's companion holds on to the bench and instructs the candidate, who cannot see anyone. Here, Nakoeri's companion says, is the plaza of the old night; there, the /265/ plaza of the old heads, further on, the plaza of the old ribs, he goes on saying (15). The

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15. The word "old" in this passage corresponds to the suffix pũri or bũri, which, as we have already seen, indicates the past of the substantives.

candidate sees nothing, he merely hears the talk of Nakoeri's companion; in the sky darkness alone reigns, and thus he does not see anyone.

/285 cont./

756 776 After much wandering, the sky becomes cooler. We are close to the village, says Nakoeri's companion. Then they reach the village of the hornets, and the candidate hears nothing but hornet language: Did you come, my brother? Did you come, my father? Did you come, my uncle? Did you come, my son? the candidate hears, but he sees nothing, because one cannot see through the darkness of the sky.

The bench moves on again, and then, as though awakening, they reach Nakoeri's house and go into it. You wandered much, says Nakoeri.--Yes, I did, Captain, answers the candidate.

After a short while, the candidate says to Nakoeri: Captain, I am going away. Yes, replies Nakoeri, You may go now; you will return again one day.

114 115 776 Let us now interrupt this passage in order to comment upon it.

Dr. Carlos von den Steinen heard from Antonio something which probably referred to Nakoeri; he thought, however, that the story,--naturally poorly developed, since Antonio spoke in Portuguese, which he did not know well, and an Indian only narrates with pleasure and clarity in his native tongue--showed the influence of Christianity. Thus, when Antonio, unable to recall at once the name of the personage who dwelt in the sky, was searching for it in his own mind, the German traveler asked him if it might not be Jesus /266/ Christo.--"Crito mesmo /Christ himself/," said Antonio, possibly accepting the suggestion (16).

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16. Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/, 346 /see 2:Steinen, this file, p. 409/.

/266 cont./

796 194 197 Is Nakoeri really an adumbration of Christ, a vestige of Catholic catechesis? We are reluctant to believe it, because the animals that Nakoeri creates, the role that he fulfills in relation to the admission of shadows into his realm, his investiture of the curers, the division of the various dominions in the sky, the novel means by which one journeys there, all point to a structure in harmony with the idea of the world prevalent among the Bacaeris. Either the Christian idea is totally unrelated to the Bacaeri conception, or it was completely smothered by the native chick-peas in which it was sown.

796 Granting that Nakoeri is a spontaneous and not a foreign concept, it is fitting to inquire as to whether he is indeed a luminous deity, as was stated above.

The darkness of the sky would incline one to place him preferably among the dark powers; but his clear differentiation from the yamũras--which are, indeed, dark forces, as the name itself indicates--checks this first impulse. Further arguments are provided by the white benches on which the candidate must sit if he wants to rise to piahi; the use of cotton, a material so unpleasant to the yamũra that its burned seed drives them far from the houses that they haunt; and finally, the arara tail which he ties to the maracá. Actually in Bacaeri, kʏavida tapabile[ixu torokʏo means two quite different things: the tail of the beautiful psittacine with which we are familiar, and the hour /267/ that immediately precedes the rising of the sun. "First appears maekudani (probably 'anta deceiver' because the animal wakes up, thinking that day is near); then the yellow tail of the kʏalokua arara; then arises the tail of the red arara; the tail of the red arara is not yet finished and the sun has already risen (kʏavida tapabile[ixutaroxo nadɪepala xixi eʃaceli)." reads a text which we have before our eyes. Thus, both as a zoological object and as an astronomical moment, the tail of the arara proves that Nakoeri represents a luminous power.

/267 cont./

756 What remains of the story of the piahi candidate can be summarized in a few lines:

[794] After having spoken to Nakoeri, the candidate goes away; at the door of the sky, the shadow puts on its old shirt and, once in it, lies down and goes to sleep; no one can go where he is, except the curer who initiated him. In the afternoon he awakens.--Do you want mingáu, are you hungry? asks the curer; and when the candidate replies in the affirmative he goes to make him mingáu with sour dough. After having slept for three days, he eats fresh beijú, then polvilho and puhere?o. The curer does not yet allow him to leave the dance house; in the next moon he eats pirão; after two moons he may go out a little, and then he eats game, matrinxã, and white pacú. Three months later, he is piahi; he wanders about, goes into a jaguar, into an anta, into a queixada, etc.

756 796 Once consecrated piahi, we have already seen some of the things that he is able to do. We shall give one more story, however, to show the difference between piahi and yamũra.

/268/ Both have died, and it is precisely from death that they acquire the power which makes them so feared by their countrymen; but after death the piahi returns to life by permission of Nakoeri, and then he never dies again, while the yamũra may appear on the earth, enter into the bodies of animals, even put on a human shirt as in the masked festivals, but in reality he never again lives down here below.

Both have almost unlimited powers over nature, but in reality the piahi is the more powerful, because the yamũra respects him and addresses him as "brother-in-law," and he has ways to placate the yamũra and even to scare him away, such as burning cotton seed, or painting with urucú the persons against whom the yamũra has been angered.

Both represent dark powers, but the piahi represents some luminosity which he acquired from his association with Nakoeri.

/268 cont./

756 776 774 It has been mentioned that in certain cases both the piahi and the yamũra can take the shadow of a person who has offended them; but only the piahi can return what he took; and, conversely, he can return the shadow stolen by a yamũra.

825 196 This leads us to mention Topiehe, a Mato Grosso bird which we were unable to identify and in whose name there is probably the same radical as is found in piahi and epiwado.

825 774 756 755 Topiehe, when killed, steals the person's shadow; this is why Topiehe is not killed; it takes a person's shadow far away; then the person dies. The house of Topiehe is in the sky; the Topiehe does not die /269/ really, says the piahi. The one who (seemingly) killed the Topiehe becomes cold; when he reaches home, he falls ill; then the piahi is called, and when he arrives, the bench is washed very clean; then the tail of the arara is tied with cotton to the maracá. While the curer is doing this, no one speaks, and the fire is put out; the bench is placed at the door, and the curer holds it, plays the maracá, and then shouts. When he is not near, yamũra does not come quickly. When he arrives, the bench moves and if the curer does not make it fast, it runs away; this is why the curer does not let go of the bench, on which sits yamũra, with whom the piahi converses: Don't you see, relative, I am calling, I am talking, I am singing, I am shouting, says the curer. I did this, because he committed this crime (inutudohe), answers Topiehe.--He is a human being, he does not know what he is doing, that is why he killed you, answers the curer. When the piahi spoke, Topiehe said: Take him. When the cotton was grasped our shadow is above and then the murderer gets well. After the return: I am going away. I heard your shout and this is why I came, says Topiehe. When Yamũra goes away, the people talk, the curer goes to the patient; he was sick because he killed Topiehe; Topiehe is not to be killed, says the curer.

/269 cont./

75 For his part, the curer can also steal the shadow of a person.

He takes advantage of the sleep of the one against whom he is angry (piahi iewirocenibüri), and, seizing the shadow that is passing by, he takes it to various places, asking it mercilessly whether it knows where it is. Soon the piahi iewiroceni-büri feels cold and feverish and falls ill. The grandfather and the mother beg for the protection of the curer: Come to see my son, says the mother; come to see what is making this son of mine sick. ' If they do not say this, the piahi makes the person die. /270/ If they do say it, the piahi replies: "Your son is a coward, this is why he is ill; but he is lying only so that no one will know that it was he. In the afternoon he goes out shouting down the path; at night he returns home shouting, he orders the fire to be put out, and the ceremony is almost the same as for the Topiehe, and the curer's payment is a cotton netting.

At the end of this story which we are summarizing, the power of the curer is stressed once more.

756 Piahi wanders about with yamüra, wanders about with the jaguar (udo-do, the same radical as udo, udoréri, "enemy"), he goes to the sky, he goes to the water, he goes into the snake, he goes into the sucuri /water boa/, he goes into little birds, he goes into any flying thing; this is why he frightens us; inside the snake he bites us, inside the jaguar; he knows who dies; he goes like the wind, he goes into the village, he goes nearby, he tears down houses with a hook, he does all these things when he is angry.

776 Thus, the Bacaeri sees three great forces in the world:
775 Nakoeri, inactive, kind, and remote, who requires no cult
756 because he does no harm; yamüras, souls of the ancestors, who have gone to the sky and, while able to do good, can likewise do evil and must be propitiated continuously; the piahi, yamüras

/270 cont./
776 of a higher order because they come back to life after they
775 have died and return to live among men.
752 Aside from these three principles, we find unclear figures and concepts, probably vestiges of older ideas.

776 Dr. C. v. d. Steinen speaks of Kilaino oroiko, which he
[114] translates as "devil." I. is not familiar with such a being, but simply /271/ Kilãino, evil beings who dwell in the forest or in the hills, assume various forms, eat mice and small birds, do not pass water, hide dead game and the arrows shot, the things that fall from people's hands; answer the shouts of a person, and shout in order to mislead those who walk through the forest.

[171] Of the same type are: Kxarowi, who goes about at night, carrying a toad for an ax, always animated by the desire to do evil to the Bacaeri, but usually duped by the latter, in short similar to the Curupiras of the Amazon as they appear in the stories collected by Barbosa Rodrigues; and Ywanaguroro, the lord of the hunt, easy to identify because one side of his chest is larger than the other, and he kills against it the persons who offend him--a figure similar to the Caipora of the Tupi.

776 There is also mention of a lake where the grandfather
825 of the cachorro fish, the grandfather of the piranha, the grandfather of the snake, the grandfather of the otter, the grandfather of the needlefish, the grandfather of drums, etc. dwell. Ghosts appear in the middle of the water. No anta, capybara, or queixada goes there, no flying thing flies across it. Ancient Bacaeris took a canoe there, but a whirlpool overturned it, the Kxurixio (a sort of enchanted otter) ate them, and only the dead men's bellies appeared.

The jaguar assú, the horse assú, the queixada assú, the turtle assú, the crab assú of fresh water, etc. are also there. Everything is swinging at the edge of the water. The Kxurixio and the Kxuxobe shake their heads which sound like thunder, and those who hear this sound fall ill and die, and those who see the grandfathers of the animals also die. /272/ At the edge of the lake there is a swamp, and the lake is the semen of animals.

/272 cont./

829 The idea of "Lord" appears often, but it isnot easy to
776 understand what it means. When a Bacaeri staes that the white
825 man is the lord of the mirror, naturally he means that he first saw this object in the hands of the Carahibas. What does he actually mean, however, when he states that tle lord of the rain is the parakeet?

776 It also seems natural that, if certain things have lords, the latter be paid or granted some token of respect or homage. Only one such case is mentioned, however; thoe who make hammocks, before using them, sling them outsde the house in homage to the Coandú /coendou/, lord of hammocks, so that their hair will not turn white. A story about a great cataclysm brought about by the death of the newt, lord of the wind, is also told.

In view of all this, the following list of lrds is of minor interest, since it will only be of use if new comparative data become available:

776 The lizard is the lord of sleep; the fox, tle lord of fire;
825 the parakeet, of rain; the newt, of wind; the uriango /Caprimulgus/, of the fishing hook; the urubuis lord of the bench; the sea snail, of the sun; the sucuri, o the fishing net; the heron, of the boquité (a type of basket); tle uga (a kind of lizard), of the grater; the porcupine is lordof thorns; the kingfisher, lord of fish; the coendou, lord of smoke and also of the buriti net; the deer is lord of the mandica, etc.

825 /273/ This shows that the Bacaeri does not make a very
774 great distinction between human beings and animals. For
196 "to wish" they use two words: ieyi, first person, which is applied to an animal raised by a human being; and anayido, a generic term, simply the plural of anayi, which means "who" and "someone." There is nothing strange about this, considering that human beings and animals have shadows and speak in the same fashion.

824 The trees also have shadows and speak.
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/263 cont./
about three centimeters square made of tree bark. After the seclusion boys and girls were eligible for /264/ marriage. Marriage, todohokúinle, was joined by the parents of the young people by means of an exchange of gifts, and it does not seem to have merited any special ceremony.

The Bakairí do not seem to have believed in the possibility of a natural death. After death, which was always caused by the sorcery of some enemy, the corpse was painted and attired in the finery used in life. The corpse was rolled up in the hammock used by the deceased, and buried with the head pointing west and the feet east. There followed a mourning period, during which the closer relatives remained uanki and from which they emerged through the tadaunúno feast.

The world of the Bakairí was surrounded by supernatural beings, good and evil, such as the iamúra, topiehe, karoui, kadopa, and kilaimo. (5) Plants and animals were nothing but

5. Capistrano de Abeu, "Os Bacaerys." Revista Brasileira, Year I, Vol. 4, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

drapery used by the iamura and kadopa. Hunting, fishing, and agricultural activities thus had to be accompanied by propitiatory activities intended to appease the anger of the iamúra deprived of their animals and plants. On the other hand, karoui and kilaimo wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí. Against such beings the Indians required the protection of their sorcerer-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

The Bakairí believed that men had two souls: one called kati or kutulu, heavier and thicker, corresponding to a camisa worn by the second soul, kagatopuri, a more fluid element that

/264 cont./

774 survives death. (6) During sleep, kagatopuri leaves the body

6. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 43, 44.

and goes wandering through distant regions; on returning it causes the individual to awaken. To awaken a person suddenly might kill him, for kagatopuri would not have time to return to the body. After death the fluid soul leaves the body once and for all and changes into kadopa. The kadopa are wandering souls that continue in this way until their final transformation into iamiira which occurred in the domains of Nakoeri, the culture hero. Nakoeri was a combination culture hero and creator god of the Bakairí. In a /265/ text obtained by Capistrano de Abreu, Nakoeri first makes all the animals, and, using a plaster of clay, creates the Bakairí. (7) Next he

7. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 47.

makes a cotton ladder and climbs to the sky.

The kadopa and iamiira suffer hunger and thirst and eat like the other Indians. For this they use the bodies of animals. When the kadopa disturbed the aldeias, rituals were performed to try to attract the wandering souls in order next to frighten them. One Bakairí account refers to the kadopa thus:

> "... if you do not intone kadopa's song he does not go to the sky. Because of this /after/ many days of sleeping put manioc paste /mingãu/ in two small clay cups /cũias/; put the paste in the middle of the grave; two persons armed with clubs intone the song; the cups are smashed and they flee. Coming from afar, one gives a blessing, saying ku ku ku (now, cheer up!).

/265 cont./

775 789 539 When finished, one gives a benediction... saying: Aufa! Go inside the sky, to our people, to our mother, to our father, here there is no one, inside the sky it is good, go, we also are going to pass away, it is said, the piahi teaches." (8)

8. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 44.

776 [775] In Nahoeri's aldea, the kadopa change into iamiira. But the iamiira also wander on the earth using the bodies of animals. Although their behavior was not intentionally malignant, the Bakairí had to take precautions when they went hunting or fishing or when they planted. On killing game or fish, the Indians left certain offerings for the iamiira portrayed by these animals. (9)

9. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 49.

776 By means of certain rituals a Bakairí might, while still alive, make contact with the iamiira, acquiring the corresponding powers, and become a sorcerer-doctor.

776 Capistrano de Abreu (10) and Karl von den Steinen (11)

10. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235, 239, 240.

[113] 11. Karl von den Steinen, Entre os aborígenes do Brasil Central /Among the Aborigines of Central Brazil/, São Paulo, 1940, transl., p. 448.

mention yet other supernatural beings that surrounded the

/265 cont./

796 Bakairí: /266/ Kitaimo, Karoui, Inanaguoro, and Topiehe. Kitaimo is a wandering spirit that wanders through the forest at night. Karoui is the sorcerer-doctor's enemy; he possesses an axe in the shape of a toad. Inanaguoro is the lord of hunting; one of the sides of his chest is larger than the other, and he clasps against it and kills the Indians who offend him. Topiehe is a bird whose death would result inevitably in the death of the guilty party. There was also a lake inhabited by maleficent supernatural beings, and where animals reached gigantic proportions.

825 Capistrano de Abreu mentions the attribution of special powers to certain animals. Thus the lizard was the lord of sleep; the fox, of fire; the urubu, of benches; the sea snail, of the sun; the porcupine, of thorns; the kingfisher, of fishes; the deer, of maniac. (12)

12. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 242.

756 The sorcerer, piaji (piahi or piaje) performed very important functions among the Bakairí. Besides the function of curing illness, he performed such tasks as the prediction of enemy attacks, the localizing of game, the finding of lost objects, and interceding with supernatural beings when necessary.

753 For the Bakairí illness was always caused either by hostile sorcerers or chaos in the service of enemies, or by spirits such as the iamiira, topiehe, inanaguoro, or karoui. On being called to heal a sick person, the piaji requested the assistance 756 of his guardian iamiira with the help of a gourd which he shook 755 in accompaniment to songs of invocation. On examining the patient, the piaji decided upon the cause of the illness, whether it had been induced by an enemy or by a spirit. In the second case, the piaji would intercede with the offended 000 spirit, appeasing it. But in the event the illness had been

/269 cont./

539 fat in order to stay warm. The Indians wanted the sun to come out, and so they donned their apparel, painted their bodies, and began to ask Orimoro, the great spirit. Orimoro was not an Indian but a man who lived in a stone house with some animals which he had created. The Indians went on asking until finally the light broke out; but the Indians had already grown old and the children had already grown up.

• 77% The data at our disposal do not permit us to place in Bakairí cosmology beings such as Tchini-ouma, Keri-kamé, or Orimoro and Nakoeri. Nevertheless, we prefer to regard Nakoeri as the supreme being of the Bakairí, leaving to Tchini-ouma, Keri-kamé (the sun and the moon), and Orimoro the role of culture heroes, until new work clarifies their respective functions.

82 13 433 Compelled to deal with a hostile environment, such as the savannas and forests of the headwaters of the Xingu, and lacking an adequate technology, the Bakairí, like the other Xinguano Indians, depended to a large extent on uncertain factors such as the amount of rainfall and the resulting annual increase of waters, which led to a scarcity or an abundance of food. Lacking an adequate technology, they did not store their produce but lived on a subsistence economy. Their hunting and fishing activities were followed by magic rituals with which they attempted to control the possibility of sudden future calamities or even of illnesses. Thus agricultural activities and the building of houses or canoes had to be followed by propitiations. In order to utilize the vegetal or animal raw materials, it was necessary to know how to control uncertain elements: How explain, for example, why one canoe splits and another does not, when both were made by the same craftsman? How explain how the same /270/ foods sometimes appeared harmless and sometimes made people ill? The system of beliefs of the Bakairí seems to us an interpretation that

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[P 75-A]

735 came back to the village to play tricks on people. The Semaiat did not believe that the ghosts of the dead caused death and, therefore, were not afraid
736 of them. They were, however, afraid of certain
741 evil spirits—for instance, *orang-pian*, who caused
753 death and sickness.

754 To become a shaman (*pawang*), a young unmarried man would train with an old shaman for a period of 6 months to a year. During this period
[P76] sexual intercourse was forbidden, fasts were periodically observed, and the novice had to abstain from eating meat. Much of the training took
[P77] place in the woods, where the old shaman would teach the novice the curative properties of roots and herbs and, also, how to get in touch with the
764 ghosts of dead shamans. The training would be
[P78] complete when the novice acquired his own spirit helper, which was always the ghost of a dead shaman. Sometimes the revelation was so powerful that the young novice would fall to the ground in a trance. The spirit that then appeared to
[P79] him instructed him how to make a fetish (either *semai* or *kenapint*), which he kept in the sacred fetish house, and gave him a special tune by which he could always call his spirit helper. The novice had then to prove himself by curing some sick person or by finding lost property. If he were successful he became a recognized shaman.

781 Before beginning a performance, shamans al-
787 ways fasted for several days and smoked heavily. In curing a sick person the shaman asked his spirit helper for instructions which usually were explanations of how to remove objects from the body which caused the illness. Besides removing
788 objects from the body the shamans prepared medi-
797 cines. Headaches and pains in the body were cured by juice of the *pemiloi* tuber, and betel leaves were used for pains in the chest. For
[P80] healing the wounds made by the scratcher the juice made by boiling the *kemunting* plant was
[illegible] used. The Semaiat also prepared aphrodisiacs [illegible] ghost and by mixing ginger roots honey, and turtle eggs.

GAMES

826 The Semaiat played, and still play, a form of Indian football called *sepak-takraw*. The ball (*bola*)
[P81] was made by covering a round object with native rubber, leaving a small opening. The ground was